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ABSTRACT

800 800 SELECTED KEY IDEAS CONTAINED IN THIS BULLETIN ABOUT LATIN AMERICA
801 801 ARE ORGANIZED AROUND SIX CATEGORIES AND ARE MEANT AS SUGGESTIONS
802 802 FOR CURRICULUM BUILDING AND EMPHASIS IN A SOCIAL STUDIES CLASS.
803 803 THE SIX CATEGORIES ARE--(1) THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT, (2)
804 804 HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS, (3) CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY AND THE FAMILY,
805 805 (4) CONTEMPORARY CULTURE, (5) CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIES, AND (6)
806 806 CONTEMPORARY POLITICS, GOVERNMENT, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.
807 807 SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS AT BOTH THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS
808 808 SHOULD FIND THESE IDEAS A USEFUL BASIS FOR THEIR CURRICULUM SINCE
809 809 MANY OF THE TOPICS CAN BE INTRODUCED IN A SIMPLIFIED FORM IN
810 810 EARLY GRADES AND DEVELOPED PROGRESSIVELY THROUGH SENIOR HIGH
811 811 SCHOOL. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL ASSUMPTIONS OF THIS PROJECT IS THAT
812 812 THE TEACHER IS THE FOCAL POINT OF ANY PROGRAM WHICH PURPORTS TO
813 813 STRENGTHEN INSTRUCTION ABOUT LATIN AMERICA AND THAT NEW CURRICULA
814 814 AND NEW MATERIALS WILL BE OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE UNLESS TEACHERS
815 815 THEMSELVES ARE WELL INFORMED. A SUGGESTED TEACHING STRATEGY
816 816 ADVISES THE INDUCTIVE APPROACH, STARTING WITH FACTS AND THEN
817 817 MOVING TOWARD CONCEPTUALIZING AND GENERALIZING. THE BULLETIN
818 818 EMPHASIZES ENDS AND NOT MEANS, GENERALIZATIONS AND NOT DETAILS,
819 819 LATIN AMERICA AS A WHOLE AND NOT INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. RELATED
820
821 820 REPORTS ARE ED 012 365, ED 012 832, AND ED 012 833. (PM)
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KEY IDEAS ABOUT LATIN AMERICA

Bulletin No. 4 (1967)

LATIN AMERICAN CURRICULUM PROJECT

403 Sutton Hall, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712

Clark C. Gill and William B. Conroy (on leave 1967-68), Directors

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FOREWORD

This is the fourth in a series of bulletins from the Curriculum Project on Latin America. Previous bulletins are:

Teaching about Latin America in the Elementary School: An Annotated Guide to Instructional Resources, Bulletin No. 1 (1967)

Teaching about Latin America in the Secondary School: An Annotated Guide to Instructional Resources, Bulletin No. 2 (1967)

The Social Scientists Look at Latin America: Six Position Papers, Bulletin No. 3 (1967)

Chiefly responsible for the preparation of this bulletin is Mrs. Catherine Cornbleth, a social studies teacher in McCallum High School, Austin, Texas and a member of our project staff. Mrs. Cornbleth's superior qualifications for this task were enhanced by attending the NDEA Institute in Latin American history at The University of Texas in the summer of 1967.

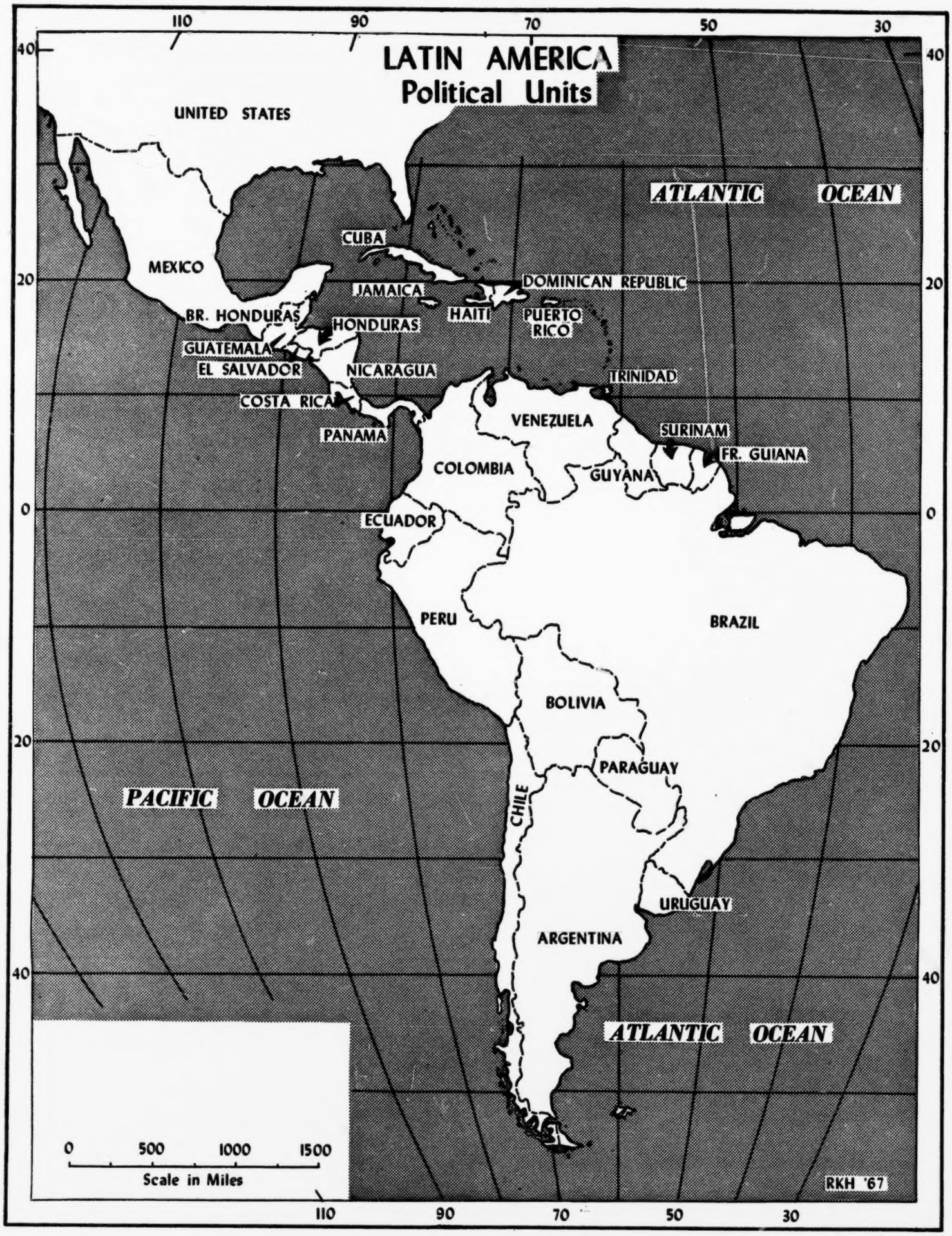
This bulletin prescribes no new curriculum organization or teaching strategies. It merely suggests key ideas about Latin America carefully selected and organized around six categories. Social studies teachers at either the elementary or secondary level should find these ideas a useful basis for curriculum building and emphasis since many of them can be introduced in a simplified form in early grades and developed progressively through the senior high. Although these ideas may represent a starting point for curriculum building for the teacher, they may be considered the end results of the

learning activities of the pupil if teaching strategies are organized around the inductive approach, starting with facts and then moving toward conceptualizing and generalizing.

One of the principal assumptions of this project is that the teacher is the focal point of any program which purports to strengthen instruction about Latin America. In most teacher education programs, courses on Latin America are not required, and few take them on an elective basis. New curricula and new materials will be of little consequence unless teachers themselves are well informed. Not only must they know about available materials, but also what is most important to teach. This is not to discount the importance of teaching strategies, but it is contended that once the outcomes are clarified, the resourceful teacher is most adept at determining the means of reaching them. This bulletin then emphasizes ends and not means, generalizations and not details, Latin America as a whole and not individual countries. It challenges the teacher to supply what is missing.

Clark C. Gill, Director

LATIN AMERICA
Political Units



The study of culture areas may be hampered by bias and stereotypes which severely limit student understanding. We tend to see what we expect to see, and our expectations may be based on inaccurate, incomplete, or oversimplified information. We confuse fact and opinion or evaluate other cultures according to our standards, which are not necessarily relevant. Proud of our predominantly English heritage, we tend to belittle the contributions of others to the culture of the Western Hemisphere. In comparing other ways of life with that in the United States, we forget that all things are not equal, that other cultures evolved differently, in part as a result of differing natural environments and experiences. We may also fail to realize that human needs (such as food, shelter, clothing, communication, government, and spiritual and artistic expression) are universal, and that only the means of satisfying them differ. Culture is man-made, and thus cultural differences are not innate and unchangeable. The way of life in the United States has changed considerably in the nearly 200 years of our national history. Further, Latin America is more than 200,000,000 people and 20 nations, not a homogeneous unit. National and regional differences must be respected.

Finally, studying other cultures can help students to see their own more clearly. For example, self-government

which we unconsciously consider natural as well as highly desirable, was not natural or desirable in 16th century Spain when she established colonies in the New World while ideas of representative government were gaining acceptance in 17th century England when her colonies were established in North America. Students might be encouraged to develop and illustrate generalizations such as the following:

1. The cultures of different populations serve comparable functions although they vary widely.
2. Differing natural environments explain, in part, cultural variations among populations.
3. Complex historical events have multiple causes.
4. Nations are becoming increasingly interdependent, yet nationalism remains a powerful force.
5. Change, common to all cultures, is increasingly rapid.

In order to understand other cultures, students must have the facts. However, facts, unless related to one another, have little meaning. "Why" and "how" should be emphasized. Students will learn from seeking these answers and destroy some of their misconceptions (e.g., all Latin American governments are dictatorships; all Latin American uprisings are led by communists; Latin Americans are lazy, corrupt, and emotional).

The study of Latin America can be organized in several ways, and selected aspects can be incorporated into the elementary social studies and into world history, American history, world geography, sociology, economics, and current problems courses offered at the secondary level. Whatever the desired organization and coverage, it is necessary to identify the main ideas in order to further student understanding and make any study of Latin America meaningful. How these main ideas are organized and the specific strategies used to develop them will vary according to the abilities and interests of the students and available materials. The following outline offers some main ideas in Latin American geography, history, and contemporary civilization including society and culture, economics, politics, government, and relations with the United States. These are drawn from a variety of sources, including The Social Scientists Look at Latin America: Six Position Papers (Bulletin No. 3, Latin American Curriculum Project), materials presented in the summer (1967) NDEA Institute in Latin American history at The University of Texas; and numerous authoritative treatments of Latin America.

I. The Physical Environment

A. Latin America is an area of great physical diversity, relatively isolated from world population centers and trade routes.

1. Geographically, Latin America extends from the southern border of the United States to Cape Horn and includes the Caribbean Islands.

a. Most of Latin America lies southeast of the United States with the west coast of South America almost directly south of the east coast of North America. (Thus, much of Latin America is as close or closer to western Europe than to the United States. Lisbon is closer to Rio de Janeiro than is New York City, and the west coast of Africa is closer than either to Brazil.)

b. Most of Latin America is remote from other large areas, population centers, and major east-west trade routes which are further north. Latin America's relative isolation was an important factor in earlier history but is presently offset to some extent by modern means of transportation and communication.

2. While cultural Latin America includes the nations of Spanish, Portuguese and French background, political Latin America refers to O.A.S. members (except the United States) plus Cuba, not all of whom are of Latin background.

3. Commonly used geographic and political, regional subdivisions of Latin America are Mexico, Middle or Central America, South America, and the Caribbean or West Indies. Also used are the Andean countries and the Plata region.

B. Mountains, tropical rain forests, and deserts or semi-arid regions account for more than half of Latin America's nearly eight million square miles (about two and one-half times the size of the United States).

1. Mountains, particularly the Andes and including the highlands of Eastern Brazil and the mountains of Mexico and Central America, are Latin America's dominant topographic features.

a. High elevations make life possible in otherwise inhospitable tropical regions. (Only Uruguay lies wholly outside the tropics and subtropics.)

b. Mountains are obstacles to transportation and trade, inter-American cooperation, and even national unity. Railroads and roads tend to lead to ports rather than to connect nations or inland cities.

2. The four major river systems (Amazon, La Plata, Orinoco, and Magdalena, all of which empty into the Caribbean Sea or the Atlantic Ocean) have not provided efficient transportation uniting areas and peoples but offer considerable potential for hydroelectric power.

3. Much of Latin America is unsuited to agriculture. (There is less good, arable land than in the United States.)

a. Large areas have not been productively utilized and are sparsely populated because they are too dry, rugged, cold, and infertile for agriculture (as the Amazon basin of Brazil where the rainforest soil has been leached by constant rain or the arid and semi-arid regions of northern Mexico, the coasts of Peru and northern Chile, and western and southern Argentina).

b. The most productive soils are in the middle latitudes where agriculture tends to concentrate on cash exports as coffee, sugar and cotton; subsistence agriculture is common in the less desirable areas which have not been appropriated by large landowners.

4. With few exceptions (Uruguay, Paraguay and Central America), mineral resources are widely distributed. They include oil, iron ore, nitrates, sulfur, copper, tin, lead, zinc, and silver, but there is significant lack of coal in most areas.

a. Some desert areas (as the Atacama in northern Chile) contain important minerals but mining appears to be most important in the Andean region.

b. Latin America's mineral resources have not been comprehensively surveyed or exploited but such activities can be expected to increase as the demand for raw materials grows.

II. Historical Backgrounds

A. Indian and Spanish cultures interacted to produce a unique colonial society.

1. The stage of development of the various Indian populations ranged from the primitive, semi-migratory lowland tribes and villages to the more sophisticated, authoritarian, highland civilizations.

2. Motives for Spanish exploration, conquest, and colonization reflected late 15th and 16th century (medieval) Spanish society and included a desire to dominate other peoples (for adventure, glory, and personal wealth), to gain commercial advantages for Spain, and to convert more souls for the Catholic Church.

   a. Military virtues and the hidalgo (noble, warrior) spirit were fostered by the fighting with and final defeat of the Moors in 1492.

   b. The defeat of the Moors fed Spanish nationalism and made possible the establishment of a strong nation-state.

   c. Spanish society was overwhelmingly feudal and accustomed to slavery.

   d. The Catholic Church was a powerful religious force and an important political instrument of the crown. Conquistadores such as Cortes and missionaries such as Las Casas illustrated the complex mood of Spanish colonization while the crown was primarily concerned with maintaining its authority, obtaining revenue, and mediating the conflicting demands of conquistador and Church without sacrificing its own interests.

3. The clash of Spanish and Indian cultures was disastrous for the Indian as his institutions were shattered and those imposed by Spanish conquerors tended to exploit him.

   a. A hierarchical social order emerged with the Indian at the bottom (except for the slave) and no place for the mestizo (person of mixed blood, usually Indian and European).

b. Spaniards and creoles (people born in America of European, usually of Spanish descent) looked down upon manual labor as something beneath their dignity and to be avoided. To solve the labor problem, they developed the encomienda,[1] repartimiento,[2] and finally the hacienda system[3] which did not enslave the Indian but forced him to work for Spanish landowners.

c. Royal protection of the Indian was generally ineffective as the humanitarian conscience of the lawmakers in Spain and the practical realities of colonial life conflicted.

d. The Indian tended to react or adjust to Spanish rule by passively accepting his bleak future (fatalism).

e. The Indian population declined dramatically throughout the 16th century, and the decline or absence of Indian labor led to the importation of slaves, especially in the West Indies and the northeastern coast of South America.

B. Spanish colonial administration was highly centralized and authoritarian, and Spanish control was reinforced by the activities of the Church which, under royal patronage, was a wealthy, conservative influence. (Thus two strong Indian traditions, authoritarian government and pervasive religious influence, were continued.)

1. The House of Trade and the Council of the Indies in Spain determined colonial policy and, as a result, there was little local initiative.

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[1]Encomienda: a system in which Spaniards collected tribute from the Indians but technically did not own their land or enslave them.

[2]Repartimiento: a system of forced Indian labor, sometimes called "mita."

[3]Hacienda: a politico-socio-economic system resembling a feudal manor under the absolute rule of the hacendado; debt peonage kept the Indian from leaving.

2. Mercantilist economic policies strictly regulated mining and trade but could not prevent smuggling and increasing foreign competition.

3. Administrators, from viceroys (highest colonial official) to corregidors (local or provincial official) were appointed by the king and ruled in his name; later, however, lesser offices were purchased.

4. At the local level, the cabildo (town council) offered some opportunity for self-government, but in practice it had little power or democratic character.

5. In spite of massive amounts of legislation covering almost every aspect of colonial life, it was impossible for authorities in Spain to enforce their regulations as illustrated by the statement, "God is in heaven, the King is in Spain, and I am here in the colonies."

6. The colonial Church exercised several functions in addition to conversion of the Indians and performance of religious duties.

   a. The mission was often a frontier settlement in which attempts were made to Europeanize as well as Christianize the Indian (as illustrated by Jesuit efforts in Paraguay).

   b. There was general intolerance of indigenous religious beliefs although some Indian practices were incorporated or adapted in order to facilitate conversion.

   c. Education and culture were dominated by the Church (as can be seen in the universities established at Mexico City and Lima).

7. The 18th century was a period of administrative reform, economic recovery, and increasing discontent with Spanish rule.

   a. Bourbon reforms revitalized colonial administration and loosened mercantilist controls.

b. Criticism was directed against laws and officials but not against royal authority which was completely accepted as illustrated by the statement, "Long live the King and death to bad government."

C. The wars for independence in Spanish America had complex causes and in some areas were also civil wars.

1. Internal unrest resulted from dissatisfaction with what were seen as discriminatory trade and tax regulations (favoring merchants in Spain), increased centralization of political authority, and <u>creole-peninsulare</u> rivalries.

2. External influences, including the ideas of the Enlightenment and the examples of the American and French Revolutions, affected very few people.

a. The masses were illiterate and politically inert.

b. The elite groups such as the landowners and the higher clergy tended not to be attracted to liberal ideas.

3. The immediate impetus for rebellion came in 1808 with Napoleon's conquest of Spain and usurpation of the throne, creating a power vacuum and providing a legal rationalization for independence.

a. Ruling juntas replaced royal administrators and ruled in the name of Ferdinand VII, the legitimate heir to the Spanish throne; declarations of independence did not appear immediately.

b. The liberal Spanish constitution of 1812 was ignored by Ferdinand upon his return, and by 1816 Spain had put down most of the revolts although military activity continued. However, Ferdinand was forced to abdicate in 1820 and liberal measures were introduced in Spain.

c. <u>Creoles</u> and <u>peninsulares</u> differed among themselves as to the desirability of independence although eventually it appears that independence was sought in an effort to maintain the old society and resist reform. Indians fought on

both sides, probably without real understanding of the issues. (Among the leaders of independence, which was achieved by 1825, were Bolívar and San Martín whose contrasting styles and views reflect the complexity of this period.)

D. The legacy of the colonial period and the wars for independence persisted in varying degrees.

1. There was no social revolution accompanying independence, and society continued to be hierarchical with great distances separating rich and poor.

a. The creoles and some mestizos gained socio-economic and political power, the latter largely through the military, at the expense of the peninsulares and Indians who lost the nominal protection of the Spanish crown.

b. Poverty and illiteracy continued to be widespread.

2. In spite of democratic ideals and constitutions, the tradition of authoritarian rule prevailed.

a. No political doctrine was widely accepted and experienced political leadership was lacking.

b. Without national unity or leadership, regionalism persisted. Regional isolation was also maintained by primitive means of transportation and communication while the variety of peoples, some of whom did not speak Spanish, divided many countries.

c. Without experience with self-government, republican experiments were short-lived.

d. The influence of the military increased as the army was the only group capable of maintaining order.

3. Although Latin America was opened to trade and immigration, the disorganized nature of the independence movement and the disunity which followed hindered cooperation among the new nations, and economic chaos prevailed following the 15 years of fighting.

E. A major political crisis in the new nations was the conflict of interests among rural landowners, rising middle class, and the peasant and urban masses.

1. A period of reaction followed the wars for independence.

a. The new republican governments were unable to maintain order and stability, and relatively soon they were forced to surrender to the landowning oligarchy supported by the military and the Church.

b. While the symbols of representative government remained, power was concentrated in the hands of one man, the caudillo (dictator, usually glamorized as a dashing man on horseback), and politics were highly personalized rather than party or issue oriented.

c. Force became a fundamental political instrument as it was the only effective means of preserving order or of changing government officials. (Revolutions, with the exception of Mexico in 1910, Bolivia in 1952, and Cuba in 1959, have changed rulers without involving basic political, economic or social change.)

d. Agricultural (hacienda) interests were dominant thus hindering commercial and industrial development as well as social change.

2. Liberal-conservative conflicts divided several countries while conservatives remained in power in others.

a. Caudillismo persists in the 20th century but the modern dictator tends to base his support on the urban working class rather than the elites and has been attracted by totalitarian ideologies. (Compare Perón and Castro.)

b. A basic conflict of interests between the status quo oligarchy and the revolutionary potential of the masses continues in several countries (as Paraguay).

c. Military rule has been unavoidable or acceptable in some countries when neither liberals or conservatives have been able to govern effectively. (Consider Brazil and Argentina.)

3. Either peacefully or by revolution several countries are achieving political stability and democratic government, economic and social progress. (Consider Chile, Uruguay and Mexico.)

F. Economic diversification and development have been sporadic and uneven with far-reaching economic, social, and political effects. (See Section V, Contemporary Economies.)

1. Latin American economies are basically agricultural.

a. About half of the labor force is engaged in agriculture but food production has not kept pace with population growth.

b. Agriculture output is low, due in part to lack of modern equipment and scientific knowledge and to land tenure systems with relatively few, large and under-utilized estates and many small, inefficient subsistence holdings.

c. Pressures for land reform are almost constant but governments have been unable or unwilling to move against vested interests.

2. Latin American economies remain heavily dependent upon exports of agricultural products and raw materials with the United States being Latin America's most important trading partner.

3. The industrial sector of Latin American economies is growing and increasingly important.

a. Most manufacturing is in light industries; development of heavy industry has been hampered by the scarcity of capital, technical skills, and sources of power (although hydroelectric plants are under construction).

b. Most governments are committed to and involved in economic development. (Mexico presents an outstanding example.)

c. Foreign investment, earlier, largely British and increasingly American, has been crucial to economic diversification and development but has aroused sensitive Latin American nationalism which resents foreign exploitation.

4. Industrialization has stimulated the development of a middle class which has supported political and social reform, an urban working class, large cities (as São Paulo), and urban problems (as slums).

   a. Improvements in transportation, communication, and standards of living have aroused the masses of the people to desire a better way of life (revolution of rising expectations). Per capita income is above that in much of Africa and Asia but far below North America and Western Europe; however, low incomes predominate so that many people are much poorer than average incomes indicate.

   b. The need for continued economic and social progress is urgent to keep pace with a rapidly growing population if radical solutions are to be averted. (Forces for such change include the Alliance for Progress and LAFTA, Latin American Free Trade Association.)

III. Contemporary Society and the Family

A. Population distribution and growth rates vary within and among nations.

1. Only Guatemala, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and El Salvador have population densities equal to or greater than that of the United States. In contrast, Paraguay and Bolivia have about one-fifth as many people per square mile.

2. The large population centers are in the highlands and port cities separated by sparsely populated regions. Physical isolation has perpetuated political and cultural regionalism in the absence of effective communication and nationalization of the population.

3. More than half the people live in rural areas although there is an accelerating movement to the major cities largely motivated by desires for better educational and economic opportunities.

   a. Increasing urbanization presents new problems in addition to traditional concern with land reform.

   b. Movement to areas offering seasonal farm work and to frontier or unoccupied regions also indicates the inadequacies or unattractiveness of rural living.

4. Latin America's rate of population growth is one of the fastest growing in the world (greater than that of any other area of the world). This relatively recent, rapid increase will seriously aggravate socio-economic conditions if agricultural and industrial growth and social reform do not keep pace.

   a. A high birth rate combined with decreasing infant mortality has resulted in high dependency ratios. With a majority of the population under twenty years of age and largely economically unproductive, large expenditures in areas such as education are required.

   b. When most of a nation's capital must be spent on consumer goods and services, there is an insufficient amount available for investment and economic expansion to provide for future needs and improved standards of living.

c. Because family values support high fertility rates, a change in population trends requires social and cultural change. Opposition to family planning also comes from the Roman Catholic Church, politicians who feel the issue is too risky politically, and economists who foresee an increased demand for labor. (A significant decline in birth rates has been achieved only in Argentina and Uruguay.)

B. Latin American populations are racially mixed, and although reliable statistics on racial composition are impossible to obtain, several groups of countries with similar population characteristics may be identified.

1. More than half the populations of Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina is of European origin compared to less than ten percent of the populations of most Central American and Caribbean nations, Bolivia, and Paraguay.

2. In Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Brazil, and Venezuela, at least one-third of the people is of Negro origin.

3. Indians and mestizos constitute a majority of the population in Mexico, Central America, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia.

4. Socio-economic and cultural characteristics are usually most important in determining "race." For example, an Indian may become mestizo or "white" by adopting the speech, education, dress, and occupation of that group.

C. Relations among the many ethnic groups vary from nation to nation although in general there tends to be less overt racial discrimination and hostility than in the United States.

1. Indians were, and to a lesser extent continue to be, considered inferior; however, in a few nations (as Mexico) the Indian heritage is now respected and a source of pride.

2. Brazil is an example of a relatively successful multiracial society.

a. There is no legal or institutional racial segregation.

b. Prejudice and discrimination tend to be socio-economic rather than racial although a large proportion of the Negro population is in the lower class. However, mobility is almost non-existent because of the wide distance separating rich and poor.

D. Upper and lower sectors or classes may be identified, with more mobility within than between them.

1. In the work or lower sector, total wealth is very small and insufficient for access to upper sector prestige symbols.

2. The upper sector places a negative value on manual labor, and while wealth may enable one to gain prestige symbols (with help from friends, acquaintances, and relatives), wealth alone is not enough. "Correct" speech, behavior, and family are necessary as is the power to influence other people.

3. A middle class, more closely associated with the upper than the lower group, is growing. It is also prestige oriented and disdains manual labor. Mobility is greatest in the cities where educational and economic opportunities are most available.

E. Various socioeconomic groups may be more specifically identified as peasants and rural laborers, urban working class, urban unemployed, urban middle class, landed upper class, and business oriented, urban upper class.

1. Peasants and rural laborers are illiterate, poor (usually living at a subsistence level), and their outlook is provincial.

2. The urban poor, the workingmen and the unemployed, inhabit the slums and shack towns surrounding major cities. More aware of how others live than the rural poor, these people are restless and potential supporters of extremist leaders.

3. The urban middle class includes growing numbers of white collar workers, government employees, military officers, political leaders, small businessmen, and professional people. This group is materially comfortable, literate, and politically active.

4. Wealth and "family" characterize the traditional landowning upper class while business and industry have produced a more cosmopolitan, wealthy group with different interests and few if any ties with the Church.

F. The extended family, including several generations and extensive lateral relationships, is of considerable importance in all sectors of Latin American society.

1. The family cannot be considered apart from friends and associates, and confianza (confidence) and compadre (godfather) relationships frequently extend across classes. Thus the family is not an independent unit, but part of a web of extended family and friendship relations.

a. For the upper class these relationships are basic to prestige and power while in the lower groups they may be essential to survival.

b. The middle class, especially in the cities, tends to have smaller family groups and fewer children.

2. While there are strong ties of loyalty and responsibility among brothers and sisters, the position of the husband and father today depends to a large extent on his ability to support the family economically. Where he is unable to provide for the family, the mother is dominant.

a. Men and boys have considerable freedom outside the home in clubs and informal social groups.

b. Girls may still be carefully chaperoned, and married women do not usually work outside the home.

c. Urban middle class women are finding more opportunity for social activity and work outside the home and church. They are slowly being accepted in business and politics, and as teachers, nurses, doctors, and lawyers.

IV. Contemporary Culture

A. Values, ideals, and creative expression

1. Culturally, "Latin America" is a varying blend of diverse Indian, Spanish-European, African, and, more recently, North American elements.

   a. Indian foods, languages, architecture, art forms, handicrafts as weaving and ceramics, and religious beliefs persist in some areas as do characteristics such as fatalism or apathy, courtesy or submissiveness, and persistence.

   b. The degree of present-day Indian influence depends to a large extent on the area and the attitude of the ruling group which is often non-Indian and sometimes anti-Indian.

   c. Spanish conquistadores and early colonists brought their medieval, eccelesiastically dominated culture to the New World. Early immigration to the colonies was restricted to loyal, Catholic Spaniards, and a degree of cultural unity resulted from the Iberian heritage (as language, religion, town planning, dress, legal system) and an agrarian economy.

   d. New European ideas and influence did not make a significant impact until the late 18th century, and they were predominantly French. Nineteenth century immigration originated primarily from southern Europe (Germany and Italy), and later included Chinese and Japanese groups. European immigration helped to maintain cultural contacts with Europe, especially among southern South Americans.

   e. African influences are evident in language, religious practices, music, and dance.

   f. United States' influence has been strong in the 20th century, and has produced intellectual as well as nationalistic reactions. (United States' culture is often seen as materialistic with emphasis on scientific, mechanical or technological things rather than philosophy and the arts; some Latin American intellectuals fear that the United States' influence is lowering their cultural standards. United

States' movies are seen in Latin American cities; our informality and acceptance of "women's rights" have had an impact on Latin American ways of life which clashes with traditional values.)

2. Culture is both material and non-material; the latter has traditionally received greater emphasis (in contrast to the United States). Several common Latin American traits or values may be identified although there are variations among nations and within them.

   a. Individualism is evidenced in strong feeling of pride and honor. For men, this often means machismo, the very strong emphasis on masculine qualities and male dominance.

   b. Personalism, the nature of interpersonal relationships in business and politics as well as among family and friends, remains strong (in contrast to the impersonality of much of United States' life).

   c. Formalism, a very courteous manner with equals or superiors, almost a ritual of politeness, as illustrated in public speaking and literary styles, seems less important than previously.

   d. Fatalism may also be of decreasing importance. Related to Catholic fatalism, the feeling that certain events are inevitable is weaker among the upper classes but prevalent among the poor who are less able to care for their needs.

3. Cultural conflict characterizes much of Latin America as a result of changes associated with industrialization, urbanization, secularization, an emerging middle class, and new ideologies.

   a. Traditional values and attitudes as the prestige and influence of the landed aristocracy and the idea of live and let live (rather than the goals of achievement and progress) are slowly giving way.

   b. The emphasis placed on philosophy and the arts is now making room for consideration of scientific and "practical" subjects.

c. A significant cultural gap remains between upper and lower classes, especially isolating non-Spanish speaking Indian groups.

4. Values, goals, and ideals are illustrated in Latin America's art, architecture, music, and literature.

a. Mexico's artists and architects have combined Indian influences and Aztec designs with modern ideas and forms as illustrated by Rivera's murals and the library at the National University of Mexico.

b. Modern architecture, especially in Mexico and Brazil, is bold and imaginative in its use of form, color and materials as illustrated by the new campus of the National University of Mexico and Brazilia, the completely new, modern capital city of Brazil.

c. Latin American music, from calypso and bossa nova to the works of the Brazilian composer, Villa-Lobos, reflects the blend of cultural heritages and the emergence of unique styles.

d. Poetry has been a favorite form of literary expression and drama has also been popular since pre-Columbian times. Literature is often politically oriented, and it is common for political leaders to be "men of letters" rather than professional politicians. (José Martí, 1853-1895, the leading figure in Cuba's struggle for independence, is known for a variety of writings which championed the underdog. A romantic liberal, without hatred and bitterness, he was anti-clerical and outspokenly in favor of responsible independence. Nicaragua's poet, Rubén Darío, 1867-1916, was the first, outstanding representative of an original Latin American literature. Other well known poets include Chile's Gabriela Mistral, the first South American writer to win a Nobel prize, and Pablo Neruda, who perhaps has not received due acclaim because of his Communistic political activities. Writers of and about the Mexican Revolution include Mariano Azuela, Carlos Fuentes, and poet Octavio Paz. On December 10, 1967, Miguel Angel Asturias of Guatemala became the second Latin American to win the coveted Nobel Prize for Literature.)

B. Religion

1. The role of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America is changing as society becomes more secular.

   a. Earlier, the Roman Catholic Church (with the landowning elite and the military) supported the status quo and held substantial political power.

   b. Bitter church-state conflicts have divided several nations in the 19th and 20th centuries. In most cases the Church lost all but its religious influence and functions although it still plays an important role in private education.

   c. Many Latin Americans are only nominally Catholic. Church support is strongest among women, the upper class, and in rural areas.

2. In some nations the Roman Catholic Church has become a progressive force, opposing dictatorship and favoring land reform, for example.

C. Education

1. Education for the elite, with emphasis on the humanities and law, has a long tradition in Latin America closely associated with the Roman Catholic Church.

2. At the university level, inadequate facilities plus continued emphasis on the humanities and relative neglect of technical, scientific, and related subjects does not provide the trained personnel necessary for socioeconomic progress.

   a. Children from wealthier families, who usually attend private schools, have an advantage over those who have attended public schools in reaching and completing higher grade levels. Thus class differences are accentuated to some extent by differential access to education, and less than one percent reach the university.

   b. Universities are often centers of political activity, as the training ground for future leaders, meeting places for those committed to reform, or platforms for extremist spokesmen.

3. Although primary education (equivalent to grades 1-6) tends officially to be free and compulsory, lack of facilities, teachers and individual motivation; and multiple languages, poverty, and rigid curriculums result in only about 10 percent of all school age children completing the elementary grades. With 50 percent of the population under 20 years of age, less than 20 percent were in school in 1965.

   a. Deficiencies are more acute in isolated and rural areas. Mexico has made significant progress in decreasing illiteracy and providing education to meet different needs through cultural missions, special vocational (industrial and farm work) training, technical, Indian, and agricultural education programs.

   b. With wide variations among nations, one-third to one-half of the adult population is illiterate, from less than 10 percent in Argentina to more than 80 percent in Haiti.

   c. Rapidly increasing populations increase the already formidable task of providing adequate educational opportunities. (For example, lack of facilities results in one-third of Argentina's potential high school students being unable to attend classes, while those who are enrolled usually attend one of three daily shifts.)

   d. Long-range programs, usually under central government management, are hindered by political instability and lack of financial resources. Alliance for Progress loans have been meager in relation to needs. Government expenditures for education vary; for example, 25 percent of the national budget is spent on education in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela while Brazil spends less than 10 percent and nearly half her population is illiterate.

4. In spite of educational deficiencies, percentages of illiteracy are decreasing and more widespread educational opportunities stimulate growth of the middle class, a mild leveling of social status, and a common background which tends to strengthen national unity.

5. There is an urgent need for increased quantity and quality in education at all levels in order to achieve socioeconomic goals and stability. Not only must there be more skilled technicians and specialists, but also an educated public able to participate in and benefit from industrialization and to provide an informed and responsible electorate as a basis for effective democratic government.

V. Contemporary Economies

A. Economic development is of primary concern throughout Latin America. The problem or challenge is to raise per capita income and improve the welfare of a large population which is growing more rapidly than that of any other world region.

1. Compared to the United States and western Europe, most of Latin America is grossly underdeveloped, although its position relative to Asia and Africa is much more favorable. (However, Latin Americans tend to compare themselves to the United States, with obvious dissatisfaction.)

a. Latin America's underdevelopment is characterized by low per capita incomes, uneven distribution of wealth, low-productivity agriculture, export-dependence, insufficient housing and educational facilities, deficient diet, and rapid population growth.

b. From suppliers of raw materials and markets for foreign manufactured goods, diversified, industrial economies are slowly developing. (Economic progress has been greatest in the larger, more populous nations such as Brazil and Mexico.)

2. The Alliance for Progress, since 1961, has attempted to coordinate and stimulate economic reform and development.

a. The Alliance for Progress resulted, in part, from economic problems aggravated by falling prices after the Korean War, Nixon's hostile reception in 1958, and Castro's victory in 1959. Although proposed by President Kennedy, the ideas and purposes of the Alliance were largely of Latin American origin (e.g., Kubitschek's "Operation Pan America").

b. Economic progress, social justice, political liberty, and more specifically, agrarian and tax reform, education and industrialization are called for in the Charter. Self-help is a condition for aid which comes from private, public, and international sources.

c. Progress has been substantial although not near expectations, and the need for further progress is urgent. Dissatisfaction led to the creation of CIAP (Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress) to coordinate and direct policy and lessen United States dominance.

3. Private foreign investment provides needed capital and know-how for industrial development but also arouses Latin American complaints of exploitation.

   a. Foreign investors, necessary because of domestic capital shortages but discouraged by political instability and the threat of expropriation, demand high profit ratios to offset risks.

   b. Most investment is in oil and mining rather than in industry where it is more urgently needed.

4. Regional cooperation, the establishment of common markets and attempts at economic integration, promise to increase trade (providing investment capital) and create larger domestic markets for developing industries.

   a. Both LAFTA (Latin American Free Trade Association) and CACM (Central American Common Market) were established in 1960 to expand trade by removing national barriers and to integrate their respective economies.

   b. CACM has been more successful than LAFTA in promoting "free trade" but economic integration has been almost non-existent.

B. In addition to industrial development and related to general economic progress are the problems of inflation, taxation, government spending and government's role in the economy.

   1. Inflation is almost universal, and especially serious in several nations.

   2. Public revenues derive largely from import-export duties and excise taxes, and as a result fluctuate widely hindering long-range planning and programs.

3. Government plays a variety of roles in the national economy.

   a. Except for Cuba, private enterprise predominates in spite of some government ownership.

   b. Public planning is much more common than public ownership, and its purpose is to promote economic development, not to support a particular ideology.

VI. Contemporary Politics, Government, and International Relations

A. Given the lack of preparation for representative government, acceptance of military rule and thinly disguised dictatorship, uneven economic development, internal disunity, and defensive nationalism, it is not surprising that the Latin American republics do not tend to be republics in practice and that they are often unstable.

1. Lack of preparation for orderly, democratic government during the colonial period led to the dominance of *caudillos* and political instability throughout the 19th and into the 20th century. (For a review of Spanish colonial administration, see II. B. and especially the legacy of the colonial period and the wars for independence, II. D.; also, II., politics in the early national period.)

2. Violence has played a large role in Latin American politics because power often cannot be gained by peaceful, democratic means. Thus, most revolutions or coups are changes of the "palace staff" and do not involve basic political, economic, or social change.

3. Political stability depends, to a great extent, on satisfactory economic progress. Changes of government, peacefully or through "revolutions," often result when governments cannot satisfy the economic demands of various groups (as businessmen and urban labor) or cannot control inflation.

4. The role of the military is changing. Traditionally associated with the ruling elites, leadership comes increasingly from the middle and lower classes, representing national rather than elite interests, and thus favoring some reform.

   a. The military sees itself as representing constitutionalism and continuity in the role of the nation's watchdog but does not seem to recognize the apparent contradiction between this view and military rule.

   b. The army has played an important part in economic development in such areas as transportation and communication, literacy, public health, and basic technical training. A

major political issue concerns the desirability of extended military involvement in traditionally non-military activities.

c. The real or perceived threat of a communist take-over and growing dissatisfaction with the rate of economic development increases the possibility of military intervention in several nations (e.g., Brazil, 1964). (Considerable fear of Communism has been expressed to justify coups although charges tend to be more convenient than real.)

5. In addition to specific political and economic problems is that of developing national integration or unity and national leadership.

   a. Geographic obstacles to transportation and communication sustain regionalism.

   b. In Middle America and the Andean region, areas of unassimilated Indian populations exist.

   c. Although the middle class is growing, considerable distance separates the rich elite and the poverty-stricken masses who, as a result, have few common interests.

6. In spite of internal disunity, nationalism is a strong force in Latin America.

   a. Having achieved political independence, Latin American nations are aiming for economic and cultural independence and recognition in international politics.

   b. Existing in the shadow of United States material accomplishments and military might, Latin American nations are especially sensitive to hints of exploitation, threats to their national pride, and the feeling that they are merely pawns in the Cold War.

   c. Communist propaganda and agitators have taken advantage of this sensitive nationalism to promote their ends as seen in attacks on the United States and "Yankee imperialism."

B. Although Latin American governments are not Western-style democracies, personalist rule is fading (only Paraguay, Haiti, Cuba, and Brazil are dictatorships, and only Cuba's is ideological and totalitarian) and responsible political parties are developing. However, political stability remains the exception. (Examples of reasonably healthy "democracies" include Costa Rica, Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Mexico--although it is a one-party nation.)

1. Most constitutions provide broad presidential powers and some prohibit re-election (e.g., Mexico) in an attempt to break the tradition of <u>caudillismo</u> while providing strong leadership.

   a. Where federal governments exist (Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, and Venezuela), the president may exert considerable influence in the states (to the extent of choosing their governors, for example).

   b. Legislatures tend to rubber stamp presidential decisions and the judicial branches have similarly limited powers.

2. Political parties are no longer merely the personal followings of popular leaders.

   a. Radical and social democratic parties exist in Argentina, Chile, and Peru. Small, doctrinaire communist parties exist in most Latin American nations, but, except in Chile, have had little electoral success.

   b. Perhaps the most encouraging development from a progressive democratic point of view has been the growth of Christian Democratic parties, especially in Chile and Venezuela. Stimulated by the progressive attitude of the Church and its concern with social issues, these predominantly middle class, urban parties are working for agrarian and tax reforms, state economic planning, and other improvements.

3. The appearance of middle class and mass political parties indicates the diversification or expansion of the electorate and the growing voice of people who previously were politically unaware and inert.

a. Still relatively isolated, the rural peasants are being reached, largely in an effort to counteract extremist agitators. Moderate leftists hope to satisfy lower class demands in order to keep extremists weak.

b. As the moderate left has become respectable, the far right (including large landowners, conservative military and clergy) has lost power although it remains influential, especially in rural areas.

4. Because the middle and upper classes have the necessary education, leisure, and money, they are dominant politically, and the university students are very much involved in political activities.

a. Low literacy and educational levels of the majority of the population explain in part the prominent political role of university students in several countries.

b. Political activity is naturally associated with education. Few professional politicians head governments; rather they are intellectuals or military men. Learning is highly respected, in private and public life.

C. Latin America's political future appears to depend upon the ability of moderate and liberal leaders to attract mass support and carry out basic reforms in the face of vested-interest opposition and extremist agitation.

1. United States-style democracy is not necessarily the best form of government for Latin America.

a. To some extent democracy has been discredited as a result of the weak, corrupt oligarchies with which it was associated.

b. Democracy is often slow and inefficient while Latin Americans are demanding more, now.

2. There are not merely two alternatives for Latin America (United States-style democracy or communism). It is most likely that Latin American nations will develop their own styles, adapted to their own conditions, and it may be that these governments will have strong executives and play a major role in economic development.

D. United States-Latin American relations have been characterized by alternating periods of United States interest and neglect, of conflict and cooperation, within a general atmosphere of increasing United States concern with Latin America.

1. Historically, Latin America has been within the United States' sphere of influence. When the United States was preoccupied with internal problems or development, Latin America was ignored; when the United States was involved in international politics, Latin America received some attention; and in several instances the United States intervened directly in Latin American affairs.

a. From the beginning of the independence movement in Latin America, a sympathetic interest was shown by the people and government of the United States (illustrated by our early recognition of the new nations).

b. The Monroe Doctrine has been variously interpreted and implemented both to the benefit and exploitation of Latin American nations. While keeping European nations from intervening in Latin American affairs, the United States appointed itself policeman of the western hemisphere and exercised considerable political, economic, and military influence. Some people even went so far as to include Latin America in their visions of the United States' manifest destiny.

c. A significant change in the United States attitude did not come until the 1930's when we demonstrated our "Good Neighbor" intentions by abrogating the Platt Amendment and negotiating a dispute with Mexico over expropriation of American-owned oil properties. Still, the United States did not treat her neighbors as equals, or take a serious interest in the area's economic development.

d. Today, Latin America is important to the United States politically as it comprises one-sixth of the United Nations' General Assembly and 95% of the Organization of American States; economically in terms of markets, resources, and investment; and strategically. Since the late 1950's the United States has become genuinely involved in

Latin America (e.g., Alliance for Progress); however, this interest seems (especially to Latin Americans) motivated largely by concern with the spread of communism and cold war politics.

2. Anti-Americanism is an inevitable aspect of United States-Latin American relations.

   a. There is historical basis for charges of Yankee imperialism. The Mexican War and the period of the Spanish-American War saw the United States acquire considerable territory.

   b. The United States did not enthusiastically support any real cooperative spirit even when the Pan American movement began, and in spite of cooperation since the 1930's, the United States continues to act unilaterally and to intervene in Latin American internal affairs (Guatemala, 1954; Cuba, 1961; Dominican Republic, 1965).

   c. United States' private investments may involve government protection of the rights of American investors, and some Latin Americans see United States actions as political meddling.

   d. As a result of cold war politics, the United States is often seen as, and has acted as, an obstacle to economic, social, and political change. Our concern with communism has made us especially sensitive to or suspicious of any left-leaning movements regardless of the desirability of the changes involved, and our emphasis on short-range security considerations has led at times to the support of dictators. (The Johnson administration supports all pro-United States governments.)

   e. United States influence (political, economic, cultural) is unavoidable, and the clash of Latin American nationalism and a United States "superiority complex" is intensified by a lack of meaningful communication and mutual understanding.